THE WORKERS'
DREADNOUGHT
For International Socialism.

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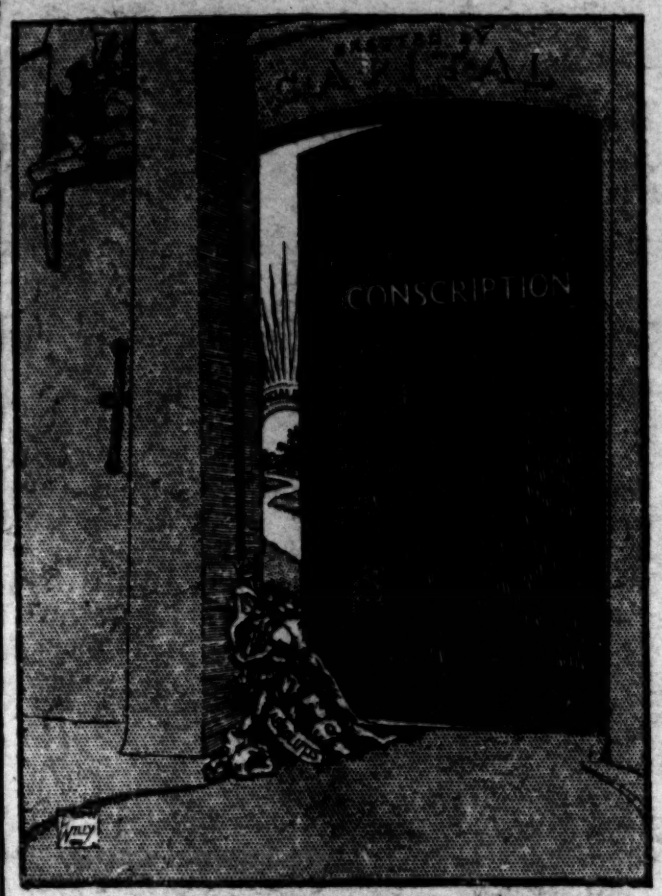
DOWN WITH THE MILITARY SERVICE ACTS.



J. H. Hudson, Labour candidate for Eccles, in his message from prison where he is still confined, CONSCRIPTION "It has become like a massive iron door erected by Capital in the road of the Workers' march towards his emancipation, and Capital's ability finally to bolt and bar that door, is the measure of the completeness of his triumph over Labour. Thank God, the door is not closed. The 1000 men in prison feel themselves as a wedge holding firm twixt door and jamb. They believe that on their power to hold firm depends the possibility for the future organisation of Trade Unionism in England, freed from Conscription's crushing menace to the power of the strike, and all collective bargaining .. Rather than seek merely for our release, help us, then, comrades, to hold the wedge firm. Nay more, drive the wedge further home, and smash open the door. Lift up the demand for absolute exemption."

THE BRAVE FIGHT OF THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS.

Conscription was introduced into this country, ostensibly as a measure of war emergency and for the period of the war only.

The introduction of conscription was opposed by many classes of peoples :—

1. By Socialists who opposed the war, which they regard as a capitalist struggle in which neither group of capitalist governments had a justifiable case, and which was antagonistic to the interests of all peoples.

2. By religious pacifists and non-resistants who believe that all war is wrong.

3. By those who thought the war was a war against the military system of Germany, and therefore held that the war would be lost if it should result in the introduction of that system here.

4. By those who foresaw that military conscription would lead to industrial conscription, and that the freedom of the workers to seek work and to leave work as they chose, and to agitate and combine to secure better conditions would be endangered.

5. By those who feared that the Imperialist Capitalists would endeavour to make conscription permanent in this country.

6. By those who realised that, if conscription should become a permanent institution here, every boy would be brought up as a soldier, a professional killer of other men, and that militarism would become an integral part of our educational system.

Resolutions were passed and demonstrations held against conscription, but, with many promises that it would remain for the war period only, it was carried into law.

Against it a bold little band of youths stood out, refusing to be made conscripts. Many of these lads have suffered continuous imprisonment since 1915; some have endured the hunger strike, some have been forcibly fed, some have been subjected to rough horse play and brutal ill-usage. One lad was kept in a pit under the fierce rays of the summer sun; another in winter time was dragged again and again through a pond. The story of their courage and endurance will be long remembered. The tale of their suffering is very hard and still it continues.

The case of Cecil Templeman, who is still in prison, is a recent and striking one. This lad was removed as a C.O. to Hounslow, but, breaking down in health, was sent to a convalescent home. After a fortnight there he was sent back to Hounslow and at once handed over to an escort to be taken to Sittingbourne in Kent. He induced his escort to go with him to tea at his home in Teddington, in order that he might see his family. His relatives saw the warrant for his removal; it was "Conscientious Objector." This was on October 23rd. On Friday, October 25th, a note was received from him, saying that he had been forcibly stripped of his clothing and forcibly dressed in khaki, which he had torn off. On Friday evening came a second note :—

5 o'clock.

"DEAR ONES,—I've been kept since 3.50 till now....and it seems as though I'm to stay like it in only my shirt! I'm in the open air—a road a few yards away (public)—and people expressing their amazement! I've no boots, so the wet ground will not do me any good. Keep cheerful. Let the War Office know!"

Then followed a third note, dated October 26th, saying that again he had been forcibly dressed in khaki, and again had torn it off; that his head had been shaved, that he had been handcuffed, that for two evenings the uniform, which he could no longer remove owing to the handcuffs, had been stripped off him and he had been "left walking about in the open air from 4 to 6.30. Also in the morning from 5.30 to 9." He added: "Naturally being in only my shirt I've caught a cough. I reported to the doctor this morning; he was sympathetic and would not believe that I was allowed to walk about in that condition....he gave me a thorough examination and said my throat was in a 'bad state' and made a report to the Adjutant."

Templeman wrote cheerfully, but next day, October 27th, he collapsed and was dangerously ill. His family had telegraphed for news of him on the Saturday, and on Sunday received a postcard from a captain, saying that he was being removed to Fort Pitt, Military Hospital, Chatham. On the Monday a letter from the lad himself reported the illness and on the Monday evening came two telegrams, the first saying: "Come at once" the second: "Don't delay; if expense is an object get money from the Police Station." His mother and sister at once hurried to Chatham and found him critically ill with pneumonia. He and three hundred others were lying in the Drill Hall as the Military Hospital was full. There were white strips on the beds of those who were in danger and one of these was Templeman's. The mother and sister remained with him. On the Wednesday it was thought that he would die and he had a serious attack of heart failure. Then the crisis passed, and on the Friday, his bed being urgently needed for other cases, he was removed, not to a convalescent home, but to Sittingbourne, where the events had occurred which led to his illness. On his arrival there he slept in a tent with the sides up and the next night was placed in a guardroom without bed, seat, or fire! The consequence was that he grew ill again.

His distracted family were now in communication with the War Office.

Another case is that of Harry Sidney Britton, a civil servant, aged 22 years, who appealed to the Camberwell Tribunal for exemption from military service on conscientious grounds on March 10th, 1916, and to the Appeal Tribunal on April 4th, 1916. His appeals being refused, he was arrested on November 11th, 1916. He served 112 days' hard labour at Wormwood Scrubbs and Wandsworth Prisons and 6 months at Exeter Prison. A further sentence of 18 months' hard labour was served in Wandsworth Prison and expired on December 28th. Now he begins a fourth term of imprisonment.

A few days after Britton's first court martial his father died, leaving him the sole support of his mother, aged 62, and an invalid brother, aged 32, who is so seriously ill that he cannot be left unattended.

Templeman and Britton are but two of the many conscientious objectors who are to-day in prison.

All these men might have abandoned the hard, uphill struggle for freedom for all and so freed *themselves*. They might have chosen the lesser hardships of "alternative service" or "work of national importance" under the Pelham Committee, or they might have found their way into munition factories, or have secured comfortable Government jobs. They might have joined the ranks of those who have profited by the war; they might have lived comfortably and lined their purses well, as many have done who jeer at the conscientious objectors, and revile them as traitors.

The conscientious objectors in prison are striving and suffering for the sake of their fellowmen, that they may not be forced to fight in any war which they do not believe to be just. They suffer for the soldiers that they may be freed now, and not kept always chained to the military machine by links which at any moment may be drawn tight. They endure for the children that they may not be trained from childhood as mere cogs in the wheels of a permanent military machine, which would have the power to claim them whenever it should choose whether they would or no.

The conscientious objectors are the soldiers of freedom. They are fighting by passive resistance to make the world safe from militarism.

Demand the immediate release of the C.O.s and the repeal of Conscription.

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ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

It was on October 20th when the days were sere and sober that *our* George N. Barnes, M.P., gave utterance to a confession of ignorance, thus: "We are not fighting Russia at all. I do not know of anybody fighting Russia. I am in an inside position, and therefore I ought to know." Unfortunately the Right Honourable who "ought to know" apparently didn't know, for here we have *The Evening News* (December 19th, 1918) explaining 'Why We Stay in Russia.' The "we" must not be misunderstood to mean the entire staff of the *News* from the office boy downwards. It refers to the Mons heroes (*Star*, December 18th, 1918), who are being sent to spend a merry Christmas in Archangel and other Christmassy places where the cold is just like the "good old times." According to this article in *The News*, Lord Milner (who was born on the wrong side of the Rhine) states that "our troops went to Russia, ot to meddle in Russia's internal affairs, or to mpose any particular form of Government on he nation, but simply to fight Germany's allies, he Bolshevists."

I do not like to say that Lord Milner is telling untruths; but he is, to put it gently, probably misinformed. According to *The Glasgow Forward* (September 21st, 1918) "Mr. Hyndman states that at this very moment our War Office is sending money to the monarchist Alexieff and other monarchists." This, it will be noted, is a full month before Barnes states that "we are not fighting Russia at all." It gives the lie, if the statement is true, to Milner's assertion that we are not out to impose any particular form of government on the nation. From the same issue of *The Forward* we read: "Tchaykovsky, the pro-Ally Socialist, who, in the name of the local Soviets invited [the official word] the Allied armies to Northern Russia, is suddenly suspended and an ex-officer of the Tsar's army reigns mysteriously in his place. Then on Monday we read that Tchaykovsky and his Soviet are re-instated—the Kemski Soviet is dissolved and three recalcitrant Soviet members who will not join the new and approved Soviet are shot by the Allies (*Cambridge Magazine*, September 14th, 1918).... *The Nation* reports from the Soviet press a definite allegation that Mr. Lockhart, the British representative in Petrograd, has been plotting with the commander of the Lettish Soviet regiments to upset the Bolshevik regime." This looks very much as if we were decidedly not to "meddle with Russia's internal affairs," doesn't it, Henry?

Either Lord Milner is talking out of his chapeau or else somebody is lying. But there is more to come. Prepare for Reel Two of the drama. The noble peer is made to state by the issue of *The News* aforesaid that "the Bolshevists, acting in the interest of our chief enemy, brought about the betrayal of the Armenian, Rumanian and Czecho-Slovak nations." In a letter to Romain Rolland, a certain Capt. Sadoul, of the French Military Mission at Moscow, writes under date of July 14th, 1918, that "the Allies have played the game of the counter-revolution, aggravating disorder and precipitating disintegration." You will be able to read between the long-winded words, Henry. The gallant Captain proceeds: "I am no Bolshevik....Ignoring the teachings of history they [the Allies] adopted a policy in the Ukraine which only benefited Austria and Germany; they encouraged the separatist tendencies of Finland, Poland, Lithuania, and the Caucasus, and with Rumania they fought against the Russian Army."

Well, you can take your choice, Henry: Lord Milner, whose official residence is in Whitehall, or Capt. Sadoul, who has been on the sp[illegible] seen things. Milner says that the Cz[illegible]slovaks are one of the nations "all of whom we were in honour bound to support"; but the Radical *Manchester Guardian* (July 13th, 1918) states that the leader of the Czecho-Slovaks, Prof. Masaryk, is definitely hostile to Allied intervention in Russia against the wishes of the Bolshevik Government. So here is Milner tying himself in knots.

But anyway, why should we worry about Lord Milner's contortions? It is his funeral, not ours. The main fact is that although the war is supposed to be over, by the grace of God, we are still at it in the Land of the Snows, and we are definitely fighting the Bolsheviki. Now, what have the Bolsheviki done to us? They have not invaded the East Coast, or shelled Hartlepool, or dropped bombs on Whitehall. What in Mike's name is the head and front of their offence? Simply this: that the peoples, tired of the mismanagement of their affairs by the monarchists and landowners and capitalists, have taken over their own country; borne down by a war, not of their own seeking, they have repudiated a "national" debt, due to the theory of all capitalist governments that the people should pay and their rulers call the tune. I am not in thorough agreement with the Bolshevist policy, but no doubt the Russians know what is best for them. I am more concerned over the revolution which is long overdue in this country, and, in the meantime, I do not wish to see a new Allied militarism, as *The Globe* (December 14th, 1918) puts it, "taking over the responsibility of policing other countries if order is to be evolved out of chaos left by the revolution following on war."

What does this "order to be evolved out of chaos" mean? Does it mean unemployment benefits of 29*s*. a week for thirteen weeks and the "spike" after? Does it mean the blessings of a "national debt" of the Lord knows how many thousand millions, which it will take three generations to pay the interest thereon, and leave the main debt still unpaid?

This is what "order" means, Henry. It means back to work on Monday morning from 8 A.M. till 6 P.M. for ever and ever, amen. And there is no sure thing about your job. Next week you may be no one knows where. Your wage is not for long enough to save anything out of. The British armies may drive the wicked Bolsheviks to Timbuctoo: they may conquer the world, but you will never be anything but what Socialists call a "wage-slave." You certainly will not be able to see any of the lands "our" armies have conquered; you know next to nothing of the country you live in.

Take your eyes off Russia for a bit and look at your own country—which you don't own yet. Then you will realise that the business of the Henry Dubbs in khaki is not to fight "Bolshies," but to win England for the people.

And shall I tell you how to do it? Archibald, certainly not.

PRESIDENT WILSON MET BY THE RED FLAG.

When President Wilson arrived in London on December 26th he was greeted by a most lavish display of bunting which undoubtedly cost many thousands of pounds. We shall all be obliged to assist in paying the bill for it shortly.

The crowds which lined the roads from Charing Cross to Buckingham Palace were large but not exceptionally large, and the cheering was so, so.

At various points on the north side of Trafalgar Square and Pall Mall red flags were hoisted bearing the inscriptions: "Hands off Russia"; "Do you want a general strike?" "Hands off the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils of Germany"; "Does Wilson stand for: 'No annexations, no indemnities, the self-determination of peoples?'" "Why should our boys freeze in Russia?"; "Wilson, stop your secret conversations"; "Stop the Russian War"; and so on. These flags were displayed for an hour and a half; passers-by viewed them by turns with curiosity, approval, apathy, but no hostility was displayed. Some people enthusiastically bought copies of the special Russian number of THE DREADNOUGHT, Arthur Ransome's 'Truth about Russia,' and *The Manchester Guardian* article 'The Russian Scandal,' which were on sale. The demonstration was organised by the W.S.F. and friends from various other organisations, including members of the E.T.U., took part. When the President drove past loud cries of "Hands off Russia!" drew his attention to the banners. After the President, the King and Queen, and the troops had all passed by and the crowd was dispersing, a little group of people attacked some of the red flag bearers and tore some of the flags.

On Saturday when the President went to the Mansion House Mrs. Cole and a Scotch comrade stood outside THE DREADNOUGHT office with a great notice: "Hands off Russia." The sympathetic crowd helped them to place it in position. What is needed now is not passive sympathy but sturdy action and a whirlwind educational campaign against the Allied Capitalist attack on the Russian Soviets, and the German Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. Arthur Ransome's pamphlet and the special Russian edition of THE DREADNOUGHT make splendid amunition for this work.

At the next election (if the Soviets are not established in Britain before there is a next election) we shall probably have a Labour Government, and after a Labour Government is sure to follow a Socialist Government and the Soviets. The Revolution is coming soon!

G.P.O. EMPLOYEE DISMISSED FOR SPEAKING TO A C.O.

The following letter is of great interest:—

86, OAKLEIGH PARK DRIVE,
LEIGH-ON-SEA,
ESSEX.

SIR,—I beg respectfully for your aid in rectifying a special grievance under which my daughter is suffering at the hands of Mr. Furby (superintendent) at the G.P.O.

I would point out that my daughter, Winifred Cuthbert, aged 16, has been engaged during the past 2½ years at the Post Office, Newgate Street—

1st, As a Probationer.
2nd, As a Female Telegraph Learner.
3rd, As a Qualified Learner.

Whilst a Probationer she was never late so far as travelling facilities permitted and has a good record with her associates.

Since being a qualified Learner she has suffered severely from the persistent hostile attitude of the above superintendent. For a so-called breach of discipline on November 16th he had her suspended.

Briefly the explanation of this incident is—a Mr. Osborn who is engaged in the same division is known to be a conscientious objector. The Superintendent issued instructions to his staff not to speak to this man.

The Superintendent heard my daughter make a reply to this person, who addressed her; she was taken sharply to task for doing so. For asserting her right to speak to whom she chose, she was reported and made to write out a reply under duress there and then. Exception being taken to the nature of her reply she was suspended and given a note to be given to her parents. She was then escorted off the premises like a criminal. Thus after the above term of regular service her career was callously ruined.

As the girl's father I ask as a matter of justice that this matter be inquired into. If it be found that the Superintendent was not carrying out the orders approved by the Postmaster General I contend that he has committed an unwarrantable offence and should be dealt with accordingly. Further, he should be requested to apologise for persecuting a girl employee of whom, in any circumstances can it be said that she offended in the slightest degree, against either the spirit or the letter of the Post Office regulations.—Yours, &c. WM. J. CUTHBERT.

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THE RED FUNERAL AT VLADIVOSTOK.

By ALBERT RHYS WILLAMS.

It was the Fourth of July. I was standing on the Kitaiskaya looking down upon the holiday flags on the American battleship in Vladivostok Bay. Suddenly I heard a far away sound. Listening, I caught the strains of the Revolutionary Hymn:—

With hearts heavy and sad we bring our dead
Who shed their blood in the fight for freedom.

Looking up, I saw on the crest of the hill the first lines of the funeral procession of the gruzshchiki.

Four days before, when the Czecho-Slovaks, aided by Japanese and English troops, suddenly seized the Soviet and its officials, throwing confusion and terror into the ranks of the workers, the gruzshchiki (longshoremen), rushed into the Red Staff Building, and, though outnumbered forty to one, refused to surrender until the building was fired by an incendiary bomb.

To-day, the people were burying the defenders of the fallen Soviet. Out of the workmen's quarters they streamed, jamming the street, not from curb to curb, but from wall to wall. They came billowing over the hill-top by thousands until the whole long slope was choked with the dense, slow-moving throng, keeping time to the funeral march of the revolutionists.

Up through the gray and black mass of men and women ran two lines of white-bloused sailors of the Bolshevik fleet. Above their heads tossed a cloud of crimson standards with silvered cords and tassels. In the vanguard, four men carried a huge red banner with the words: "Long Live the Soviet of Workmen's and Peasants' Deputies! Hail to the International Brotherhood of the Toilers!"

A hundred girls in white, carrying the green wreaths from forty-four unions of the city, formed a guard of honour for the coffins of the gruzshchiki, which, with the red paint still wet upon them, were borne upon the shoulders of their comrades. The music crashed out by the Red Fleet Band was lost in the volume of song that rose from the seventeen thousand singers.

Here was colour and sound and motion—but there was a something else, a something which compelled fear and awe. I have seen a score of the great processions of Petrograd and Moscow, peace and victory and protest and memorial parades, military and civilian. They were all vast and impressive because the Russians have a genius for this kind of thing. But this was different.

From these defenceless poor, stripped of their arms, and with sorrowing songs bearing off their dead, there came a threat more menacing than that which frowned from the twelve-inch guns of the Allied Fleet, riding in the harbour below. It was impossible not to feel it. It was so simple, so spontaneous and so elemental. It came straight out of the heart of the people. It was the people, leaderless, isolated, beaten to earth, thrown upon its own resources, and yet, out of its grief, rising magnificently to take command of itself.

The dissolution of the Soviet, instead of plunging the people into inactive grief and dissipating their forces, begot a strange, unifying spirit. Seventeen thousand separate souls were welded into one. Seventeen thousand people, singing in unison found themselves thinking in unison. With a common mass will and mass consciousness, they formulated their decisions from their class standpoint—the determined standpoint of the revolutionary proletariat.

The Czecho Slovaks came, offering a guard of honour. "Ne noozhna!" (It is not necessary!) the people replied. "You killed our comrades. Forty to one you fought against them. They died for the Soviet and we are proud of them. We thank you, but we cannot let the guns which shot them down guard them in their death!"

"But there may be danger for you in this city," said the authorities.

"Never mind," they answered, "We, too, are not afraid of death. And what better way to die than beside the bodies of our comrades!"

Some bourgeois societies came presenting memorial wreaths. (The Cadets officially denied that these wreaths came from them.)

"Ne noozhna, it is not necessary," the people answered. "Our comrades died in a struggle against the bourgeoisie. They died fighting cleanly. We must keep their memory clean. We thank you, but we dare not lay your wreaths upon their coffins."

The procession poured down the Aleutskaiya Hill, filled the large, open space at the bottom, and faced up toward the English Consulate. Near by was a work-car with a tower for repairing electric wires. Whether it was there by design or accident I do not know. Presently it was to serve as a speaker's rostrum.

The band played a solemn dirge. The men bared their heads. The women bowed. The music ceased and there was a silence. The band played a second time. Again there was the bowing and baring of heads and again the long silence. And yet there was no speaker. It was like a huge Quaker meeting in the open air. And just as a sermon has no place in Russian public worship so here a speech was not essential to this act of public devotion. But should someone from the people feel the impulse to speak there was the platform awaiting him. It was as if in the pause the people were generating a voice.

At last out of the crowd one came and climbed upon the high platform. He had not the gift of oratory but his frequent iteration, "They died for us," "They died for us," touched others to utterance.

Most eloquent of all was a lad of seventeen, the secretary of a league of young Socialists. "We were students and artists and such kind of people. We held ourselves aloof from the Soviet," he said. "It seemed to us foolish for workmen to govern without the wisdom of the wise. But now we know that you were right and we were wrong. From now on we shall stand with you. What you do, we will do. We pledge our tongues and pens to make known the wrongs that you have suffered the length and breadth of Russia and throughout the world."

Suddenly the word went through the throng that Constantin Soochanov had been paroled until five o'clock and that he was coming with counsels of peace and moderation. Soochanov was the president of the Soviet, a student twenty-four years of age, son of a high official of the Tsar, and a hero in a revolution that is not given to hero-worship.

While some were affirming his coming and others were denying it, he himself appeared. He was quickly passed along upon the shoulders of the sailors. In a storm of cheers, he climbed the ladder and came out upon the platform-top, smiling....

As if to avert the flood of tragedy and pathos that beat suddenly upon him from every side, he turned his head away. His eyes fell for the first time upon the red coffins of the men who had been slain in defence of his Soviet and upon the mothers, wives and children of the men who lay within them. That was too much for him. A shudder passed through his frame, he threw up his hands, staggered and would have fallen headlong into the crowd, but a friend caught him. With both hands pressed to his face, Soochanov, in the arms of his comrades, sobbed like a child. We could see his breath come and go and the tears raining down his cheeks. The Russians are little given to tears. But that day there were seventeen thousand Russians who sobbed with their young leader on the public square of Vladivostok.

But Soochanov knew that many tears were an indulgence and that he had a big and serious task to perform. Fifty feet behind him was the English Consulate and fifty rods before him were the waters of the Golden Horn with the frowning guns of the Allied Fleet. He wrenched himself away from his grief and....with an ever mounting passion of earnestness he spoke, closing with the words which shall henceforth be the rallying cry for the workers in Vladivostok and the Far East:—

"Here before the Red Staff Building where our comrades gruzshchiki were slain, we swear by these red coffins that hold them, by their wives and children that weep for them, by the red banners which float over them, that the Soviet for which they died shall be the thing for which we live—or if need be—like them, die. Henceforth the return of the Soviet shall be the goal of all our sacrifice and devotion. To that end we shall fight with every means. The bayonets have been wrested from our hands, but when the day comes and we have no guns we shall fight with sticks and clubs, and when these are gone then with our bare fists and bodies. Now it is for us to fight only with our minds and spirits. Let us make them hard and strong and unyielding. The Soviet is dead. Long live the Soviet!"

The crowd caught up the closing words in a tremendous demonstration, mingled with the strains of the 'International':—

"Arise ye prisoners of starvation,
Arise ye wretched of the earth,
For Justice thunders condemnation
A better world's in birth——"

The resolution proclaiming the restoration of the Soviet, the objective of all the future struggles of the revolutionary proletariat and peasants of the Far East was read. At the call for the vote seventeen thousand hands shot into the air. They were the hands which had built the cars and paved the streets, forged the iron, held the plough, and swung the hammer. All kinds of hands they were: the big, rough hand of the old gruzshchiki, the artisans' deft and sinewy, the knotted hands of the peasants, thick with callouses, and thousands of the frailer, whiter hands of the working women. By these hands the riches of the Far East had been wrought. They were no different from the scarred, stained hands of labour anywhere in all the world. Except in this regard. For a time they had held the power. The Government had been within their grasp. Four days ago it had been wrested from their grasp but the feel of it was still within their hands—these hands raised now in solemn pledge to take that power again....

A sailor striding down from the hilltop, pushed through the crowd and climbed upon the platform. "Comrades!" he cried joyously. "We are not alone. I ask you to look away to the flags flying over there on the American battleship. You cannot see them down there where you stand. But they are there. And with the flags of all the other nations there is the red flag of our Russian Republic. No, comrades, we are not alone to day in our grief. The Americans understand and they are with us!"

It was a mistake of course. Those flags had been hung out in celebration of our Day of Independence. But the crowd did not know that. To them it was like the sudden touch of a friend's hand upon a lonely traveller in a foreign land. With enthusiasm they caught up the cry of the sailor: "The Americans are with us!" And the vast conclave, lifting up their coffins, wreaths and banners were once more in motion. They were going to the cemetery but not directly. Tired as they were from long standing in the sun, they made a wide detour to reach the street that runs up the steep hill to the American Consulate. Then straight up the sharp slope they toiled in a cloud of dust, still singing as they marched, until they came before the Stars and Stripes floating from the flagstaff. And there they stopped and laid the coffins of their dead beneath the flag of the great Western democracy.

They stretched out their hands, crying, "Speak to us a word!" They sent delegates within to implore that word. On the day the great Republic of the West celebrated its independence the poor and disinherited of Russia came asking sympathy and understanding in the struggle for their independence. Afterwards, I heard a Bolshevik leader bitterly resentful at this "compromise with revolutionary honour and integrity."

"How stupid of them," he said. "How inane of them! Have we not told them that all countries are alike—all imperialists? Was this not repeated to them over and over again by their leaders?"

Truly it had been. But with this demonstration of the Fourth of July the leaders had little to do. They were in prison. The affair was in the hands of the people themselves. And, however cynical many leaders were about the professions of America, the people were not so. In the hour of their affliction, these simple trusting folk, makers of the new democracy of the East, came stretching forth their hands to the great strong democracy of the West.

They knew that President Wilson had given his assurance of help and loyalty to the "people of Russia." They reasoned: "We the workers and peasants, the vast majority here in Vladivostok, are we not the people? To-day in our trouble we come to claim the promised help. Our enemies have taken away our Soviet. They have killed our comrades. We are alone and in distress and you alone of all the nations of the earth can understand." No finer tribute could they offer than to come thus bringing their dead with the faith that out of America would come compassion and understanding. America, their only friend and refuge.

But America did not understand. The American people did not even hear about it. But these Russian folk did not know that the American people never heard about it. All they know is that a few weeks after that appeal came the landing of the American troops.

And now they say to one another: "How stupid we were to stand there in the heat and the dust stretching out our hands like beggars!"

[Reprinted from "The New Republic."

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.
BRITISH MUSEUM

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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PUT NOT YOUR TRUST IN CAPITALIST POLITICIANS.

The great news of this week is the growing power of the German Socialists, of Liebknecht and the Spartacus group. They now control the office of the great daily newspaper *Vorwaerts*. That they now possess the paper and plant means a fine accession of propaganda force; that they have been able to secure this valuable property means that they have grown very strong. Some days ago it was already rumoured that the Spartacus group now formed the Government of Germany with Liebknecht at the head. The rumours were not confirmed, but from many quarters comes the report that this thing may happen at any time

The Ebert Government appears to be acting with unexampled folly. Its commandant in Berlin, Wels, seems to have been very hostile to the Marines, who were called from Kiel to keep order on the outbreak of the revolution. According to *The Manchester Guardian* Wels in Christmas week refused to pay them their wages unless they would immediately disband or leave Berlin, where many of them had their families. The Marines marched to Wels's headquarters on December 24th, but were fired on and two of them were killed. Whereupon they arrested Wels and two of his lieutenants. After a series of conferences it was agreed that the three prisoners should be released, the Marines should get their pay, and evacuate the castle where they were stationed. Neither side kept the undertaking. The castle was bombarded and serious conflicts took place. Finally the Marines triumphed because the troops ordered to fire on them took to fraternising with them. General Leguis, who was in command of the troops, declared that this was due to Government hesitation, which during ten days exposed the troops, newly arrived from Finland, to "influences," and because during a twenty minutes' armistice, unarmed crowds, including many women and children, obtained a chance to work upon the feelings of the soldiers. This appeal to brotherhood and comradeship from civilian workers to workers in khaki, was in complete harmony with the spirit of Russian Bolshevism. Very many people were killed, but public opinion necessitated that the positions of Wels and Leguis should be filled by others.

Nevertheless, at the conference of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates held subsequently the supporters of Ebert's Government were in the majority. On the main point at issue, namely, whether Germany should be governed by the Soviets or by a Constituent Assembly on parliamentary lines, the majority decided for the Constituent Assembly.

However, the struggle between the Marines and the Government appears to be leading to the withdrawal from Ebert's Government of the Independent Socialists, who stand midway between Liebknecht and the Ebert-Scheidemann party. This would be a serious blow to the Ebert Government's popularity.

Any day now the news may come that the Spartacus Party is in control and that Soviet Socialism reigns in Germany. When Soviet Germany joins Soviet Russia, the two great nations will form a Socialist alliance, so strong that no capitalist combination will have power to destroy it.

Seeing this danger, capitalism is on the alert to crush the growing power of the workers ere it becomes invincible. Whilst the workers of France and Britain are cheering Wilson, his fourteen points, and his League of Nations, and, under cover of the general rejoicing at the ending of the war, the League of Capitalist Governments is laying its plans to destroy Socialism, or, as they call it, Bolshevism.

President Wilson had but newly arrived in Paris, when, on December 21st, *The Times* published this note from its Washington correspondent:—

NEW YORK, Dec. 19.

The New York *Sun* states that, according to diplomatic advices received at Washington, a definite programme of action by the Allies and the United States is being prepared in the hope of re-establishing some semblance of order in Russia. It is understood that the tentative plan is to begin military operations this winter instead of in spring. Though the expedition will necessarily be of a military character, it will be in no sense a war waged against Russians, but rather an extension of the idea of police duty to protect foreign interests as well as the interests of civilian Russians.

The *Sun* observes that Mr. Wilson and the Entente Prime Ministers realise that it will be virtually impossible to establish anything resembling a world peace at the Conference table if Russia, representing one-sixth of the world, remains in a perpetual state of civil war and anarchy. It is not believed that the Bolshevists are capable of resisting the efforts of the Powers to bring relief to particular districts.

This statement that Wilson was conferring with the Allies in regard to the Russian intervention has been confirmed from many other quarters, and numerous press paragraphs have urged that, whilst intervention in Russia is necessary, intervention, to be effective, must be on a large scale. The desire to proceed with the campaign in the winter season, which in Northern Russia must cause appalling hardship to the poor fellows fighting on both sides, probably springs both from the knowledge that the power and popularity of the Soviet system grows with every day that it is permitted to survive and from the fear that capitalism may shortly be confronted by a number of other Soviets if that in Russia be not crushed.

Comparatively few of the workers of this country as yet realise that their interest lies in close co-operation with the German Soviets. Nevertheless that realisation, on a very widespread scale, is not far distant, in spite of the desperate efforts of old-fashioned Labour leaders and opportunist politicians to maintain the race hatred engendered by the war.

Already masses of workers in this country have awakened to the knowledge that the sort of social structure which the Russian Soviets are erecting is one which would be of inestimable benefit to the workers of this country. Already the opposition to the Allied intervention in Russia is general amongst the organised workers of this country. In France it is also strong and in response to it Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, tried to assure the people that France will not make war on Russia. Many people grasped eagerly at Pichon's statement and interpreted it as a promise that the intervention was about to be abandoned, but Marcel Cachin's further questions to Pichon in the French Chamber on December 30th unmistakably revealed the fact that the intervention is *not* abandoned, though it is *not called* a war. French Ministers state that the Allies intervene in Russia "to resist the prevailing ruin and anarchy" there; yet the Allied intervention, by holding up the supplies of food and raw materials and monopolising railway stock, is causing untold misery in Russia. Pichon described the action of the Allies as an economic encircling of Russia; that means starving out Russia.

Lord Milner, in a communication to *The Daily News*, defended the intervention on similar lines, and adopted a number of quite untenable contentions; for instance, he accused the Bolshevik administration of causing the defeat of Roumania in the war, though Roumania was completely defeated in December, 1916, whilst the Russian Czar was not dethroned till March, 1917, and the Bolsheviki did not obtain power until the following November!

Lord Milner's further contention that the Allies intervened to save the Czechs has been again controverted in these columns on what appears to us to be absolutely incontrovertible evidence, but there is now just published an account of the present Czecho-Slovak situation, which shows that those troops are being unwillingly induced to fight the Soviets on the ground that the Allies have aided the Czecho-Slovaks to establish their Republic. *The Times* correspondent, writing from Omsk on December 19th, states:—

The Czechs are Socialists, and have a natural affinity for the Russian Socialists who shaped the Samara Government and other local bodies, which have given the Czechs military and other assistance. Their relations with the Siberian Government at Omsk, on the other hand, had been steadily getting less satisfactory until the overthrow of the Directory, which the Czechs have viewed as a set-back to Socialism and the triumph of reaction. For this reason they withdrew from the front, and some of them have been suspected of readiness to throw their weight against Admiral Koltchak's Government. M. Stefanik, however, has visited all the units and impressed their delegates with the fact that the Czechs owed their new position in the world to the Allies, and that the future of their country still depended largely on Allied assistance and sympathy. In view of what they have gained by the sacrifices of the Allies they were bound to continue to act as Allies and do whatever was required of them. M. Stefanik's reasoning with them had an excellent effect, and one battalion went back to the front of its own accord, and others have asked to be allowed to resume their places in the fighting line. M. Stefanik then summoned the local council and pointed out that with the formation of a Czech Government the council no longer had a *raison d'etre*, and in the name of the Czech Government he formally requested them to consider themselves dissolved. These developments have not been to the liking of all, and a section of the Czechs has talked either of cutting or bargaining a way home through the Bolshevist lines."

These arguments seem to imply the possibility of a threat that, if the Czecho-Slovaks do not fight as they are required in Siberia, their Republic may be endangered. The new Republic of the Czecho-Slovaks is by no means free of the need for Allied assistance, for already a dangerous controversy has developed between the Jugo-Slavs and the Italians. Sir Arthur Evans in *The Manchester Guardian* has made many protests on this head. He points out that Italy is attempting to secure both Fiume and Sebenico, and the Dalmatian territory promised to Italy in the Secret Treaty of 1915, which would place a large Dalmatian population under Italian control, beside robbing Dalmatia of its harbour Proklyan.

The Montenegrins have also complaints to make against Italian aggression. The French censorship has joined in maintaining silence on these questions, but now the matter has grown so serious that Clemenceau has told Italy that she must be content with the Adriatic as her eastern boundary. Whether the Italian Imperialist Capitalists will accept that dictum remains to be seen. They will probably declare that another scrap of paper has been torn up.

Indeed, what a mass of warring interests this war has revealed!

President Wilson admitted in Manchester:—

I am not hopeful that the individual items of the settlement we are about to attempt will be altogether satisfactory. One has but to apply his mind to the question of boundary and altered sovereignty and racial aspirations to do something more than conjecture that there is no man, and no body of men, who know just how it ought to be settled."

Surely those words mean that Wilson realises the interests of the small, weak nations will go to the wall when the great Powers strive in rivalry together. Does he now repent those high-flown, altruistic-worded utterances that built up for him such a tremendous reputation! If he ever believed them to be more than mere

(continued on page 1177).

STOP THE BLOCKADE!

To Well-Meaning People :—

The Blockade of the Central Empires is starving the children of Germany and Austria, just as the Allied Intervention in Russia is causing starvation there.

Demand the raising of the Blockade.

Do not ask the Allies to send food to the children of Germany and Austria, but to raise the Blockade.

When the Blockade is raised the German and Austrian people will be able to obtain food for themselves.

The Allied Governments are starving the German and Austrian people by the Blockade; to request them to send food to allay the starvation they are causing, only gives them an excuse to continue their interference with the people of Germany and Austria.

The Germans have deposed the Kaiser, when shall we depose the Capitalists?

STARVATION IN VIENNA.

The following extract from the letter of an Englishwoman in Vienna, written on December 4th, to English friends and just received in this country, portrays an extremely dismal picture of the position there :—

"....For us here the prospect of Christmas looks very bad. We have no coals, no light and nothing for the people to eat. During the whole dreadful war I have been treated very very well here, the people could not be kinder. I don't mean friends, but shopkeepers, &c. For instance, the milk woman gave me milk *as long as she could, which was a year ago*; the butter people too, were so kind; *it is two years* now since butter was sold openly....You can get nothing to buy except at monstrous prices, meat 50 K., a Kilo (roughly £1 1*s.* per lb.); butter, 90 K. a Kilo (£1 16*s.* 8*d.* a lb.). I pay about 15*s.* every day for my dinner at the "White Cock" (a fairly second-rate restaurant)....We are all looking forward to Wilson's arrival in Europe and hoping his terms of peace will not be too hard for this poor country. The "Grippe" ('Flu) is very prevalent, and many people are dying....If the people had food one could look forward to order. Don't forget to tell people that we were all treated so well during the war. Even the police were very kind...."

The Daily News reports that Colonel Summerhayes, Chief of the British Red Cross Mission to Prisoners of War in Austria, says that unless food is immediately sent to Vienna at least 200,000 people out of a total population of 2,250,000 will die as soon as the cold weather sets in. He says that Vienna is not on the verge of starvation but actually starving. During his fifteen years' experience in India (how awful that India should be the test case of famine comparison!) he never witnessed such sights as he has seen in Vienna to-day. Public soup kitchens dole out meagre portions of horseflesh and vegetables at 5*d.* per meal. The coal allowance is 40 lbs. a week, which barely suffices to cook three meals.

CHILDREN DYING IN GERMANY

From Germany W. H. Nevinson in *The Daily News* reports that the bread is very unwholesome, that the present ration will only last till January 4th. Potatoes at 1 lb. a day and meat 3 oz. a week will only last till February. Butter substitutes made from the bones of animals are rationed at 1 oz. a week. Only children under 3 years can have milk. Horseflesh sells at 36*s.* per lb.

The town physician of Solingen reported that at 6 years old an average of 1,100 children came under his examination, and in peace time he found an average of 150 inclined to tuberculosis, and 50 with evident signs of the disease. He now found 304 tuberculous and 150 with evidence of the disease :—

"The mortality from measles, scarlet fever, and diphtheria was, he said, double. In the sixth year the average loss in weight was 6 lb. below normal, and in height between one and two inches. All illnesses are worse and more lasting, and, of course, the working-classes suffer most. The death rate in that district has been tripled during the war, the chief increase being due to phthisis owing to want of food. Children from 10 to 16 will never recover. They are short in height and in weight, and the school teachers tell me that their power of mental application has fallen by about a third....The scientific head of a great hospital here has explained to me that whereas nearly 3,000 calories are needed daily for an adult the average now obtainable is 1,860. There is no butter except at 29*s.* a lb., and bacon costs the same. There is no coffee or cheese or fruit. Soap, as I know too well, is made of sand, with a little fat, and cannot stop the infection of dirt. Consequently tuberculosis abounds and there has been more dysentery in the last year than in the previous forty....The almost absolute want of milk is most serious. Mothers have very little, and many cows have been slaughtered for the army, or are poorly fed from want of imports. No child over three is allowed milk. The births have been reduced 60 per cent. The newborn grow badly and irregularly. The head of a children's hospital told me that more children had been lost in the war than men on the field, and in the year 1933, he said there would be no soldiers fit to fight. He took me to see his wards, and though I have seen many horrible things among mankind I have never seen anything more pitiful than those lines of babies fevered for want of food, wasted till their limbs were like little bits of stick, and staring about with apelike and hopeless faces. Bloodthirsty as a few people in England appear to be, I think even they could hardly have rejoiced over such a sight. But perhaps I have said enough for a Christmas article. I will only add that the physician's last word to me was an entreaty to England to send out a million or two of india-rubber teats, because Germany has no rubber. A rubber teat which used to cost 1½*d.* now costs from 4*s.* to 5*s.*, and the babies cannot get up the milk by sucking the bone teats which have to serve as substitutes."

The way to stop such atrocities is to raise the Allied blockade and to abandon the lust of conquest and leave the peoples of other nations to manage their affairs in peace.

PUT NOT YOUR TRUST IN CAPITALIST POLITICIANS (continued)

exercises in picturesque oratory, is he disappointed now? Does he, at last, begin to realise that power has only been given to him to obey, and so long as he will obey, the strong forces of capitalism which control the policy of the party he nominally leads? Or has he known it all along?

The question is an interesting one, but the answer matters not. What is essential is that the workers should realise that the world is controlled by two strong forces—Capital and Labour—and that the struggle between Labour and Capital will never cease until Capitalism is abolished.

Very fiercely the old struggle is now raging. British war correspondents report that the children of Germany are being starved and the Allies disperse the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils of Germany. The Ministers of a Capitalist Government boast that they have captured Perm from the Bolsheviki and taken 8,000 prisoners. Where the workpeople of Omsk attempted to overthrow the domination of Koltchak's counter-revolutionary Government 47 were shot in one day, and of the railwaymen who held up the traffic and cut the telegraphic communications 60 were killed and 70 executed.

But in spite of the cruel hardship it entails the Bolsheviki are said to welcome the intervention, because, they say, the occupying troops will become enthusiastic workers in the Socialist Revolution.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION.

Soldiers who are leaving the army are being demobilised but *not discharged*. The Soldiers in question leave the army under a pledge to work for a particular employer and to notify the army authorities on change of his employment and address. They are liable to be recalled to the army at any time. This is Industrial Conscription. Here is a copy of Army Form Z 30 (which was used as an election leaflet by Austin Harrison who stood for the Carnarvon district of boroughs) :—

(*Soldier's Name and Rank filled in by War Office.*)
Army Form Z 30 (Soldier).

From.....Rank .....
To the Secretary, War Office (Mobilisation).

In consideration of my early release from military duties, I undertake to accept work of immediate importance as .....
(Description of employment.)
with .....
(Name of employer.)
of .....
(Address of employer.)
to commence work immediately, and I understand and agree that after my release from such military duties I shall not be entitled to any Army Pay, Allowance, or Gratuities for any period beyond that of 28 days immediately subsequent to my release, and that no period after the expiration of such 28 days shall reckon as service towards any gratuity. I also understand that I am liable to recall to military duty at any time and that I am bound to notify any change of employment or address to .....

Unit .....
Rank .....Regtl. No.....
Theatre of War or Command.....
Trade or Calling .....
Industrial Group No. .....
Occupation Code No. .....
Nearest Station to Place of Employment.....
I have (not) been officially reported a casualty.
Dated this.....day of.....191 .
Signature of Soldier .....
Signature of O.C. Unit.....

COUNTER REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.

The *Populaire* of Paris reports that in Russia at the beginning of the war the abuse of alcohol had reached such a pitch that even the Tzar's Government felt it necessary to prohibit the production and sale of vodka. Every bottle of it had to bear the skull and cross bones as if it were poison. When the Bolsheviki came into power they ordered the destruction of all wine and vodka stores, a measure found urgently necessary during the demobilisation, when the soldiers tied to raid the stores. The Red Guards stoically carried out this order without succumbing to temptation.

Whilst strenuously fighting against alcoholism, the Soviet Government set up continuation schools, workers' and peasants' clubs, popular academies of music, painting, and sculpture, popular universities, people's institutes, libraries, lecture halls, library trains which circulate all over the country, and numerous theatres where the authors and artists are all workers and peasants. The creative powers of the workers and peasants, aided by the enthusiasm of the revolution, have sprung up in all parts. To-day, the Russia of the Soviets and the Bolsheviks is incontestably the most sober country in the world.. But in the portion of Russia torn from the Soviets by the intervention of foreigners, the counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet, Government which, after restoring the power of the masters, bankers and merchants, takes away the land from the peasants and the factories from the workers, has reintroduced the sale of vodka, a government monopoly, in order to raise its revenue.

The Manchester Guardian reports that Admiral Koltchak, the Siberian Dictator who intends to build up his government on vodka, and is also asking the Allies to provide 60,000,000 roubles a month to keep him going has arrested another twenty-seven of them, including M. Tchemoff, one of the foremost of the anti-Bolshevik Socialists and twelve other members of the Constituent Assembly because "they do not accept him as Dictator" and "proclaim him a sheer reactionary."

The "copy" from our Paris Correspondent has not yet reached us. We conclude the Christmas postal arrangements are the cause.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

WORKSHOP NOTES: By W. F. WATSON.

THE SHORTER WORKING WEEK.

By a vote of 286,545 against 148,526 the workers in the Engineering and Shipbuilding Industry have decided to accept the 47 hour week. The terms of the preliminary agreement, as arrived at by a conference of employers and representatives of Trade Unions on Christmas eve are as follows:—

1. The day shift shall terminate at the present hour of stopping in each establishment, unless otherwise agreed between the firm and their men.

2. Where necessary, in order to make up 47 hours on account of a 12 o'clock Saturday, half-an-hour extra shall be worked on one evening of the week, unless otherwise arranged between the firm and their men on a 47 hours basis.

3. The rate of men whose normal working week, *e.g.*, 58 hours, is in excess of the normal district week, *e.g.*, 54, shall be enhanced as if they worked the normal district week, *e.g.*, 54.

4. Time rate per hour to be increased for day-shift men according to amount of reduction in hours.

5. Night-shift to be paid on enhanced day rate.

6. Night-shift hours to remain as at present, pending readjustment.

7. Premium bonus earnings shall be calculated on enhanced day-shift rate.

8. No change shall be made in piecework prices or lieu rates.

9. The foregoing, being a temporary arrangement pending further discussion between the Federations and the Trade Unions, is without prejudice to either party in dealing with any of the points involved, whether noted herein or not.

As is fairly well known several districts endeavoured to secure the rejection of the 47 hour proposals in favour of a shorter week, but I suggest to all workers that we accept the 47 hours week with as good a grace as possible and continue to agitate for an even shorter week. Clause 9 of the arrangement makes it easily possible for us to do so.

The London District Committee pressed hard for a 44 hour week and I am informed that at least three firms had actually agreed to it viz.: The Morgan Crucible Co., Battersea; The Gramophone Co., Hayes; and the Ilford Instrument Co. Unfortunately, there is no co-ordination between the different sections of workers. Whilst the engineers are accepting a 47 hour week the National Transport Workers are demanding a 44 hour week for tramway workers. The Workers Union is demanding a 48 hours week and the Miners a 6 hour day, 5 days a week, and £1 per day. I remember urging the Engineering workers as far back as the early part of 1916, to formulate a National policy along the same lines as that adopted by the Miners. But it did not cotton on. Surely it is not too late!! Let the advanced section of the Engineers, Transport Workers, Workers Union and every other section get together and adopt the program of the Miners. Burn it into your minds, brothers, 6 hours a day, 5 days a week, and at the very least £1 per day. And this should certainly not be an end in itself, but merely a means to an end. If after securing the 30 hour week we find the unemployed problem still with us, then we must demand a further reduction, until all are absorbed and this must apply to the unemployed at both ends of the social scale.

Why did not our wonderful "leaders" (?) act upon the advice of Lloyd George when he told them to be audacious in their demands? Our German brothers are *so* different. The workers at Wertheim's Emporium demanded extra pay ranging from 100 to 500 marks (£5 to £25) *to enable them to discharge debts contracted during the war*, despite the additional pay already given them. This was more than poor old Wertheim could stand, so he shut up shop.

That's audacity if you like, and if the bosses cannot carry on except by low wages and big profits, then the workers must, and, by the powers, will, take over control.

INDUSTRIAL FATIGUE.

It is really pathetic to note how anxious the good kind employers are concerning the health and well-being of the mere producers of wealth. The latest stunt is the appointment of a Research Board "to initiate, organise, and promote by research, grants or otherwise investigations in different industries with a view to finding the most favourable hours of labour (No, no, dear reader *not* for the bosses), spells of work, rest pauses and other conditions applicable to the various processes according to the nature of the work and its demands on the worker." The following well-known "workers" constitute the Board:—

Professor C. S. Sherrington, Sc.D., F.R.S. (Professor of Physiology, University of Oxford), chairman.

E. L. Collis, Esq., M.B. (Director of Welfare and Health, Ministry of Munitions).

Sir Walter Fletcher, K.B.E., M.D., F.R.S. (secretary, Medical Research Committee).

W. L. Hichens, Esq. (chairman of Messrs. Cammell Laird & Co., Limited).

Edward Hopkinson, Esq., D.Sc. (Director of Messrs. Mather & Platt, Manchester).

Kenneth Lee, Esq. (Director of Messrs. Tootal Broadhurst Lee Company, Limited).

T. M. Legge, Esq., C.B.E., M.D. (H.M. Medical Inspector of Factories).

Colonel C. S. Myers, M.D., F.R.S. (Director of the Psychological Laboratory, Cambridge).

R. R. Bannatyne, Esq. (Assessor representing the Home Office).

D. R. Wilson, Esq. (H.M. Inspector of Factories), secretary.

The Board will be glad to receive suggestions as to any problems of the kind described.

"Our Medical Correspondent" of *The Times*, December 21st, 1918, in an article approving of the appointment of this "Board" made the startling announcement "that the man who asks for shorter hours is frequently right and the employer who opposes him is just as frequently wrong." Wonderful, wonderful! when we remember how bitterly the bosses have fought against any reduction of hours. "Work before breakfast is a mistake," "holidays should be frequent," "Sunday labour was unpopular, uneconomical and not productive of increased output" are amongst other recent discoveries of the Health of Munition Workers Committee. Why this change of front on the part of *The Times* and of the employers? Adequate reasons are given in a very lengthy article on Economy of Industrial Energy which appears in the December issue of *The Times* Engineering Supplement, an article I propose reviewing at length. The whole article clearly shews that the only concern of the Government and of the employers is increased output, although it is *not* stated that the object is to extract from the workers the wherewithal in the share of increased wealth production to pay for the War.

The Research Board looks forward to receiving help and suggestions from employers and workmen. I take this opportunity of offering a suggestion to this collection of K.B.E.s, M.D.s, F.R.S.s, D.Sc,s and Esquires, that they spend a month say, at 8 hours a day in the mine, on the railway, in the cotton mill, in a steel smelting works, in an engineer's shop, on a boat cleaning out a boiler or navvying. They would then have first hand knowledge and experience of Industrial Fatigue. I just wish to tell these meddlesome people, with all the emphasis I am capable of, that the thinking workers are a bit fed up with them. As far as the Workers' Committee Movement is concerned we do not propose to take any notice of their findings. The time is not far distant when the British proletariat will emulate their Russian and German comrades by seizing control of all the Industries. When that time comes, we shall make short shrift of these humbugging persons, who continually speak of the worker as something to discipline and regiment for the purpose of producing more and more wealth, to enable them to pay for a ghastly crime, of which they (the employers) and the class to which they belong were guilty.

THE GENERAL ELECTION.

Everything is working out according to plan, and the result of the General Election leaves me quite cold and undisturbed. I am, however, glad that McManus, Paul, Murphy, Sheppard and Newbold were amongst the "also rans" and I sincerely hope they will now direct their energies along useful channels. I do not propose wasting valuable space on the ghastly farce except to emphasise what was said in *THE Herald* in its issue of December 21st: "*If, however, the Coalition wins and Mr. Lloyd George retains office....he is determined to regard a victory in this bogus election as a mandate to do what he will for five years....He deludes himself. It will be the first duty of Labour....to put a term to the life of this* [*and all*] *Parliaments and of his tenure of a power that will have been secured by fraud.... The Constitution provides no remedy. Very well, then, we must seek one outside the Constitution. If we cannot persuade the Government we shall have to coerce it. And we have the means. If the Government cling to a fraudulent authority, we must use our industrial power to regain our political liberty. We shall have to resort to the General Strike to secure a free* [*industrial*] *Parliament....Organised Labour can* [*and will*] *exercise a veto more absolute than that of any House of Lords....If the Government's calculations prove correct—if they secure their fictitious and fraudulent Parliamentary majority, then—to safeguard our liberties, to overthrow the usurpers, to recover our political freedom*—GET READY TO STRIKE."

If Lloyd George thinks we shall keep quiet for five years—or even five days—he is what we call in workshop parlance a B.F.

HANDS OFF RUSSIA!!

The arrangements for the National Conference and mass meeting to demand the withdrawal of British troops from Russia are well in hand. The Memorial Hall has been secured, the Library for the Conference which commences at 10 A.M., and the big Hall for the meeting which starts at 7.30 P.M., doors open at 6.30. A musical program is being drawn up by Cedar Paul; Edward Soermus the wonderful Russian violinist will be there. The Committee has decided to ask Comrade N. Lenin to accept the position of Honorary President, and Comrades Karl Liebkneckt, Leo Trotsky and Clara Zetkin to be Vice-Presidents. Owing to bad postal and telegraphic arrangements it will be doubtful whether we shall get their consent before January 18th, so we propose taking it for granted.

We are grateful to those who have offered and given assistance which has enabled us to get the convening circulars distributed. But we need more finance. So, Comrades, send along your mighty mite to the Hon. Secretary, Hands off Russia Committee, 7, Featherstone Buildings, Holborn, W.C.1. Above all see that your branch appoints delegates to the Conference. Final announcements next week.

EAST LONDON ACTIVITIES.

A mass meeting of A.S.E. Shop Stewards was held on December 27th at the Poplar Town Hall to discuss the advisability of joining en bloc the Ship-repairers Shop Stewards' Committee. Brother Bridger was in the chair and the meeting was addressed by W. F. Watson, J. E. Mills and S. C. Bradley.

The meeting was rather stormy as some of those present resented any mention of what they termed Socialism and Bolshevism. I am convinced that the East London engineers will have to realise that they cannot discuss the development of the A.S.E. Shop Stewards' Committee without referring to Socialism and Bolshevism, and the sooner they realise it the better. After a lengthy discussion it was finally decided to submit the question to a workshop ballot.

It is now up to those A.S.Ers. and other advanced dock workers to point out the advantages of the A.S.E. throwing in its lot with the unofficial movement. In spite of the opposition Mills was able to put up a splendid justification of the Russian Bolshevik administration which was well received.

THE LONDON AND DISTRICT COUNCIL OF S.S. AND WORKERS' COMMITTEES.

A very successful Conference was held on December 21st at 7, Featherstone Buildings, W. F. Watson presiding. After some discussion and hearing reports from the various committees it was decided to proceed with the election of provisional officers, on the understanding that such officers shall only act until the council is thoroughly established as a representative body when proper elections can be conducted. W. F. Watson was elected President, Jack Tanner, Vice-President, F. J. Pateman, Secretary, H. Forbes, Treasurer, and an executive of seven, representing the various sections including the Railwaymen and Vehicle Workers.

It is anticipated that the Executive Committee will meet very shortly to draw up a constitution and a basis of representation and affiliation. In the meantime all Shops and Workers' Committees are urged to put themselves into communication with F. J. Pateman, 148, Wellington Road South, Hounslow, Middlesex.

* * *

Twenty thousand Tyneside workers at Newcastle on December 12th protested against the inadequacy of the 29*s.* unemployment "donation" and demanded current rates of wages during unemployment. Quite right! that is the law to-day in Socialist Russia.

Ten thousand Southampton shipyard workers took a half-holiday on December 12th to show their determination to get a 44 hour week.

THE ELECTION.

The Election is over and the fact that not half the electorate voted is its most outstanding feature. A large proportion of the soldiers could not vote, but masses of soldiers and civilians did not care to. Parliamentary-Government is a failure; it does not grip the interest of the masses; their part in it is too remote. They know, in many cases even without realising they know it, that it fails to represent them and that it does not meet their needs. They have no control over the Member of Parliament whom their votes put into power; he receives no instructions from them, renders them no report. Just as he does nothing that they tell him, so he does nothing for them; the old age pensioners plead with him in vain when they visit the Lobby asking for increased pensions; the mother who cannot get a decent house for her family finds him powerless to help her; the sweated and overworked discover that he does nothing to ease their burdens; to the unemployed he brings no work, to the starving no food. Their lives move on remote from his activities. "No, I'm not going to vote. I don't believe in it!" said a woman in an East End 'bus. "I would," she added, "if they'd bring the prices down a bit, but they won't! The British Government would draw the very blood from your heart!" Year after year they prose away in Parliament, but our lives are unchanged by their deliberations, and when a great crisis like war or peace appears, the Government muddles through in secret, refusing to tell the Members of Parliament what course it is taking.

The election is a triumph for the extreme Tory reaction. We are not sorry that the Liberal Party has been all but extinguished, for it merely serves to confuse the fact that the great social tug of war which has to be met is the struggle between Capitalism and Socialism: the issue is simpler when the workers have only one capitalist party to deal with. When an industrial dispute arises it matters not whether the employer is a Liberal or a Tory; but at election times the workers often get drawn into the disputes which occur between the rival capitalist parties as to which is the best way to run the capitalist machine.

The Labour Party has now taken the place of the Liberal Party as second in size, for the Liberal Party can only count on 26 seats. The 136 Coalition Liberals are really merged in the Tory Party, for which the Coalition is but another name. To the Coalition total of 484 seats the 48 Unionists and 7 members of the National Party must be added as well as most of the Independents. The extreme Tory Party has therefore an enormous majority, and if a coercive policy is developed, the workers shortly will find themselves forced to use revolutionary industrial action in self-defence. The 10 Labour Coalitionists will of course obey the Coalition whips whilst the Coalition remains strong, but these men are essentially opportunists, and as the power of the Coalition wanes, as wane it will, we believe, ere long, they will endeavour to creep back into the ranks of the Labour Party.

The Labour Party has not scored so brilliantly as some of its supporters predicted, but it has increased the number of its seats from 38 to 65.

The Liberal Pacifists who were returned as Liberal supporters of Mr. Asquith at the last election, and at this election stood as Labour candidates, have been defeated. This, we think, on the whole, is as it should be; for though some of these particular candidates have a higher standard of political morality than many of the men who have never belonged to any political party save the Labour Party, still, after all, the mission of the Labour Party is not to provide a refuge for men who are neither workers nor Socialists, but who happen to have disagreed with the majority of the capitalist party to which they have hitherto been content to belong. Of course, we shall be told that some of these candidates are Socialists. In reply we must ask: Were they Socialists when they were in the Liberal Party? If so, their Socialism is evidently of that vague order that would not prevent them from returning to it. If, on the other hand, they have become Socialists since they were returned as Liberals we think that a period of probation in the Socialist movement should be passed through before it is proper to choose them as spokesmen and representatives of the movement.

The increase in the actual number of Labour seats is less significant than the general growth in the Labour vote throughout the country; for when the votes come to be analysed the Labour poll is seen to be a very substantial one. Whilst throughout the country the Liberals have polled altogether 1,335,620 votes the Labour poll is 2,482,566. Even in London Labour has 109,360 as compared with the Liberal 97,730, though the result is 4 seats to Liberalism and only 1 to Labour. In the English counties the Labour vote is 820,168, the Liberal 424,893. In the Welsh boroughs the Labour vote is 59,153, the Liberal only 16,335, and the Coalition Unionist and Liberal 69,890. That is exceedingly remarkable. In the Welsh counties Labour has 124,721, Liberalism 35,101, and the Coalition 166,255. That, too, is remarkable. A Labour majority in Wales by the next election appears quite certain. In Scotland Labour has 163,866 votes in the boroughs, Liberalism 97,920, the Coalition 275,302. In the counties Labour has 124,080 votes, Liberalism 58, 654, the Coalition 285,727. Here is the analysis:—

ENGLAND.

	London.	English Boroughs.
Co-Unionist	340,466	1,471,957
Co-Liberal	75,137	497,778
Liberal	97,730	424,893
Labour	109,360	820,168
Unionists	26,283	106,293
Ind. Workers	—	120,453
Independent	91,741	169,051

ENGLISH COUNTIES.

Co-Unionists	1,477,219
Co-Liberal	396,468
Liberal	549,551
Labour	897,379
Ind. Workers	42,099
Unionists	70,373
Independent	127,960

WALES AND MONMOUTH.

	Boroughs.	Counties.
Co-Unionist	8,090	20,728
Co-Liberal	61,800	145,527
Liberal	16,335	35,101
Labour	59,153	124,721
Ind. Workers	26,844	—
Independent	5,157	2,460
Unionists	21,918	9,444

SCOTLAND.

	Burghs.	Counties.
Co-Unionist	193,409	161,168
Co-Liberal	81,893	124,559
Liberal	97,920	58,654
Labour	163,866	124,080
Ind. Workers	26,554	—
Independent	32,763	36,598
Unionist	—	4,036

The result of this election should put an end, once for all, to the habit of leaning upon and making bargains with Liberalism which so many Labour politicians have affected. The election shows that the workers of Britain are rapidly growing class conscious, though they have not yet grasped the ideal of Internationalism. The Labour Party now becomes the Official Opposition. What will it do with the opportunity?

The substantial Labour vote recorded in many hitherto backward agricultural districts tells us that the landworkers are waking up at last. A bold campaign for making the land the property of the nation, freeing it to the landworkers, and establishing land committees to work it, is what is needed in the agricultural districts now. It would bear abundant fruit.

The defeat of most of the men who have been prominent figures in the Parliamentary Labour Party since it first emerged as a substantial force in the Parliament of 1916, and the fact that many of the new-comers are little-known men makes the newly-elected Labour Party appear an uncertain quantity. How many of its members will prove to have grit, fighting power, and Socialist vision when they get into the House? Too many of them we know to be lacking in all these essentials; too many of them have been returned because they were spared the fierce attacks levelled by the Coalition against those who had dared to oppose its policy. Whatever else it has done, this election ought to have proved to the Labour Party that straight, clear-cut dealing, pays better than diplomacy, and that the candidate who attempts to ride two horses is bound to fall. Henderson and MacDonald have both been praised as past masters of the tactical art, as eminently clever in political gymnastics, yet they have lost their seats and have fared no better than McLean, the imprisoned Bolshevik Consul, and MacManus who contested Halifax, a constituency where he was unknown, where there was not even a live branch of his organisation, as a revolutionary Socialist, who received no official support from the Labour Party and whose candidature was at first even repudiated by the local I.L.P. Henderson's method was to say in effect: Vote for me. I am as patriotic as Lloyd George. I assure you I am not a Bolshevik. Macdonald's was to protest that he did not say "my German comrades," and to evade the question of indemnities by saying that an indemnity is a difficult matter. The method of McManus and McLean was to say frankly: We are Socialists. We want to overturn the capitalist system; we want to substitute the Soviets for Parliament. There was no hedging or evasion; in Halifax, at least, the electors were deluged with educational literature. The electors who voted for McManus and McLean knew what they were about and they, having been convinced, not bamboozled, will always vote the Socialist ticket under whatever guise it may appear. Moreover at least one Bolshevik, Neil McLean was actually returned.

From the propaganda standpoint it is in some respects to be regretted that men like Joseph King, Philip Snowden, and R. L. Outhwaite, who again and again exposed Governmental scandals in the House, will no longer be there to throw a searchlight into dark places. Their work was no more than propaganda, for they never succeeded in influencing a single division. On the other hand, their defeat emphasises the futility of Parliamentary politics; in this it is useful.

On the whole a thoroughly bad Parliament has been elected. The party of Tory reaction secured an enormous majority. It has climbed into power with all sorts of catchwords, insisting it is the party that won the war, and that its return will mean a just and lasting peace, the speedy return of the soldiers, the abolition of conscription, social reform, high wages, good houses for the workers.

In reality the return of the Lloyd George Coalition means, we fear, the reverse of all this—a peace of annexation, hatred, and injustice, pregnant with provocation to future wars; war on Socialist Russia and Socialist Germany; the retention of conscription both military and industrial; and keeping the soldiers and sailors away in Russia and the Central Empires for years to come; heavy taxation, high prices and privation at home, and the indefinite postponement of any far-reaching improvements in housing and other social conditions; coercion of the workers at home and abroad in the interests of Capitalism.

In this dark prospect only the Revolutionary Socialist may dare to hope. Such a programme of a Lloyd George Coalition will never be fulfilled, for the workers have now learnt how to use industrial action.

The women candidates have polled well on the whole. Perhaps only the Irish electorate was quite ready to elect a woman. Perhaps, on the other hand, the vote would have gone just as it did, had the parties for which the women stood been represented by men candidates, in those particular constituencies. Parliament, we hope, will soon be replaced by the Soviets, but, in the meantime, it is satisfactory to record the fact that women can now take their places in political life on fairly equal terms with men. Our congratulations to Mme. Markievitch on her victory in Dublin.

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LONDON MEETINGS.

OUT DOOR.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 3rd.
The Square, Woolwich.—11.45 A.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, JANUARY 4th.
Great Push in Wandsworth.—Meet at 2.30 P.M. outside Wandsworth Prison. Speakers: Mrs. Clara Cole, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker, and others.
SUNDAY, JANUARY 5th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel.—11.45 A.M., Mrs. Walker.
Finsbury Park.—3 P.M., John Syme.
The Flagstaff, Hampstead.—3 P.M., Miss Price.
TUESDAY, JANUARY 7th.
The Clock Tower, Burdett Road.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
FRIDAY, JANUARY 10th.
Tower Hill.—12 (NOON), Miss Price.
SATURDAY, JANUARY 11th.
Great Push in S.E. District.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, JANUARY 6th.
44, Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F. Business Meeting.
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 8th.
44, Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F.—Mrs. Clara Cole, 'The Stand of the C.O.s.'
FRIDAY, JANUARY 10th.
Chandos Hall.—7 P.M., Violin Recital by Edward Soermus. Chair: Sylvia Pankhurst.
SUNDAY, JANUARY 12th.
20, Railway Street, Poplar W.S.F.—Mr. Edmunds, 'Possibilities of our Age.' Chair: Mrs. Cressall. Discussion.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 7th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall.—2.30 P.M., Mrs. Cressall.

We shall be pleased to insert notices of meetings in this column, giving one line free and a penny for each additional word.

Gratefully Acknowledged

GENERAL FUND (N[illegible] and December).—Miss D. Gittins, £10; Irene, per Mrs. Drake (20*s.* w.), £9; Miss Chesley (Peace), £8; Mrs. M. Murray, £5; Sale at Bow, £4 13*s.* 7½*d.*; Nottingham W.S.F., £2 10*s.*; Central Branch W.S.F., £1 13*s.* 3*d.*; Mr. Frank Lawes, £1; Miss Casey (Draw Books), 14*s.* 8*d.*; Miss C. Billing, 10*s.*; Erith I.L.P., 10*s.*; a Sheffield Woman, 10*s.*; Miss Annie B. Howlett, 10*s.*; S. W., 5*s.*; Miss M. C. Gittins, 5*s.*; Miss A. Marion Barker, 5*s.*; Miss Gulland, 5*s.*; Mr. A. Gaubert, 5*s.*; Mrs. Hannon, 4*s.*; Miss Evelyn C. Lummis, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. Cahill, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mr. Reuben Cohen, 2*s.* 6*d.* COLLECTIONS: Miss Price, £7 12*s.* 11½*d.*; Poplar W.S.F., £1 8*s.* 6*d*; Irish At Home, £1 1*s.* 4½*d.*; Bow People's Hall, 2*s.* 3½*d.*

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COCKNEY FAIR.—Mr. Geo. Lansbury, £5; Mrs. Sandheim, £2; Mr. Bradley, £1 1*s.*; Mrs. Thring, £1; Mrs. M. B. H. Ellis, £1; John Canning, £1; Mrs. E. Richmond, £1; Mrs. Mgt Murray, 15*s.*; Miss Ethel Morgan, 10*s.*; Miss Alice Unthank, 10*s.*; Mrs. Hyde, 10*s.*; Miss Gliksten, 10*s.*; Mrs. M. Jones, 10*s.*; Miss E. Smith, 10*s.*; Mrs. Hardcastle, 7*s.* 6*d.*; Mr. G. P. Bell, 5*s.*; Miss A. Hardie, 3*s.*; Mrs. Mansell Moullin, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. Castledine, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Miss Eleanor Green, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. Oldershaw, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Miss Mgt. Smith, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Miss Maltilda E. Muggeridge, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mr. A. J. Cable, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Miss E. Russell, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Miss Mary Hughes, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mr. J. de Gruyter, 2*s.*; Mrs. J. Tinkay, 2*s.*; E. Shaw, 1*s.* 3*d.*; Miss Lilian Hudson, 1*s.*; Miss J. Stephen, 1*s.*

SOCIAL WORK.—Mrs. Alice Singer (6*s.* w.) £7 16*s.*; L.S.A. Toolroom, per Mr. Wilkes, £6; Miss Grainger Kerr, £5 14*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. Baillie-Weaver (45*s.* monthly), £4 10*s.*; Mrs. M. Boswell (£2 monthly), £4; Misses Gulland (monthly), £3 10*s.*; Miss Annie Udney, £2 6*s.* 8*d.*; Mrs. M. Judson, £2 5*s.*; Mrs. J. C. Unwin, £2 2*s.*; Mrs. Richmond (10*s.* fortnightly), £2; per Miss J. E. Weir (20*s.* monthly), £2; Mrs. M. A. Pelly (10*s.* monthly), £1 10*s.*; Mrs. R. Hecht, £1 1*s.*; per Mrs. Dickinson, £1 1*s.*; Rev. B. E. G. Shelley, £1; Contessa Tomasi Isolani (monthly), £1; Miss A. M. Goodliffe, £1; Miss M. Fussell, £1; Estelle and Vincent Bell, £1; Mrs. Mgt. Murray, £1; Mrs. Lettie Usherwood, 18*s.*; Mr. Sydney Schiff, 17*s*; per A. Demant, 15*s.*; Mr. R. Whitwell, 15*s.*; Mrs. Thring's boy, 11*s.* 3*d.*; Mrs. Leila Burroughs, 10*s.*; Miss M. S. Turner, 10*s.*; Misses Barrowman (5*s.* monthly), 10*s.*; Miss J. T. Drewry (5*s.* monthly), 10*s.*; Sale of clothes, 10*s.*; Mrs. I. Tew, 10*s.*; Mr. W. J. Randall, 10*s.*; Miss Mabel Sennett, 10*s.*; Mrs. A. R. Higdon, 7*s.* 6*d.*; Miss W. Turner, 7*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. Alan Gardiner, 7*s.*; Miss E. Dell, 6*s.* 7½*d.*; Mrs. Ware, 5*s.* 7½*d.*; Mrs. Barfield, 5*s.* 2½*d.*; G. S. P., 5*s.* 0½*d.*; D. Wilkie, Esq. (2*s.* 6*d.* monthly), 5*s.*; Miss M. McCarthy, 5*s.*; Mr. F. W. Shorrocks, 5*s.*; Miss Mgt. D. Warren, 5*s.*; Miss I. W. Mudie, 5*s.*; Mr. Chas. E. Foster, 5*s.*; Mr. A. J. Nathan, 5*s.*; Mrs. Castelli, 5*s.*; Miss E. M. Fox, 5*s.*; Miss Clemence Housman, 5*s.*; Miss M. Hay and Friend, 5*s.*; per Miss H. Bandulsha, 4*s.* 0½*d.*; Miss Alice Woodruffe, 4*s.*; Joan Edwards (farthings), 2*s.* 10*s.*; Mrs. Field, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Miss D. Rook, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. H. Armes, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mr. Jas. E. Phillips, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mary Alice Singer (1*d.* weekly) 2*s.* 2*d.*; Mrs. Kinsey Peile, 2*s.*; E. Verna Engrall, 2*s.*; Dr. Scarlett Synge, 1*s.* 4*d.*; E. W. Thomson, 1*s.*; Miss Dunn, 1*s.*; Miss Lilian Hudson, 1*s.*; Kathleen Outhwaite, 1*s.*; J. Sheard, 1*s.*; P. Anderson, 1*s.*; Mrs. [illegible]nitage Smith, 1*s.*; Mrs. Schurr, 9*d.* COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Toolroom, £6 15*s.* 9½*d.*; Misses E. Lagsding and J. Watts (Greens Yard), £3 18*s.* 2½*d.*; Mrs. Alice Singer (6 months' collection), £2 6*s.*; Milk Churn, £2 1*s.* 2½*d.*; per Miss Burgis, 12*s.* 7½*d.*; per Miss Burgis, 9*s.*; Milk Box, 6*s.* 6*d.*; Mothers Arms Box, 3*s.* 4*d.*

CHANDOS HALL,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 10th, 7.30 p.m.,

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JOHN MACLEAN.

December 26th, 1918.

John Maclean has sent the following letter to Sir James M. Dodds, Under-Secretary for Scotland. 26385/73

SIR,—Would you be so kind as to inform the Secretary for Scotland that I do not accept your assertion that "the King" has granted me a "free pardon." Not "the King," but the fighting workers of Britain have regained me my freedom, and a healthy fear of these workers has induced you and your friends to try this bluff of a "free pardon." All the time, however, you are trying to pester my wife and myself through your detestable spies, popularly called detectives.

My immediate reply to that is a demand from the Government through the Scottish Office for one hundred and fifty pounds (£150), the cost of recovery after my release last time and this from your cold-blooded treatment in those infernos, Peterhead and Perth.

I made a claim last time for seventy-six pounds (£76) and was refused. The new demand includes that sum, and this new demand I intend to insist upon until it is met by the next Government or until the workers assume full control of the British Empire.

(*Other papers please copy.*)

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Classified advertisements one penny per word. Displayed advertisements 7s. 6d. per inch. Pre-pay and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152 Fleet Street.

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SINN FEIN.

In the Irish Elections Sinn Fein has swept the country.

Sinn Fein's next move (as we learnt from two of the newly elected M.P.s, Mr. Gavan Duffy, the member for South Dublin, and Mr. M. Collins, member for South Cork, both of whom called at THE DREADNOUGHT office) will be to summon an Irish National Assembly of the Sinn Fein members next week. The business of the Assembly will be to prepare a constitution for an Irish Republic, to draw up a reform programme, and to appoint Ireland's delegates to the Peace Conference. These delegates will not be instructed to sue for favours or support, but to invite the Conference to recognise Ireland as an independent nation. "Ireland," says Sinn Fein, "is already self-determined and it is about time that England should realise that fact."

We asked: "What sort of people are the Sinn Feiners who have been elected?" We were told that about a dozen are prominent in the ranks of organised labour, but they come from all sections of society, farmers, barristers, civil servants, clerks, shopkeepers, and so on. Thirty-five of those who have been elected are actually now in prison. Had the Sinn Fein Executive been sure that the Act qualifying women to sit in Parliament would be passed in time for the electio, nmany more women candidates would have been put forward.

If Ireland's desire for self-determination, clearly, unmistakably expressed in the election, is met by armed coercion a most serious situation will certainly result.

We call on the Government to leave Ireland in peace to decide her own destiny. We urge our fellow workers in Britain to insist that this shall be done.

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